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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS COMPILED EVERY BAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Reconstruction Bill-"Chaos Come Again." From the Times.

The hopes excited by the action of the Senate on the Reconstruction bill were on Tuesday nummarily destroyed. The House has refused to concur in the Sherman amendments, and since the Senate will not recede from its position in regard to them, the probabilities point to their failure and abandonment. With them will end the last chance of accomplishing anything during the present session.

For this result the country is indebted to an alliance between the Democrats and the extreme radicals. A large majority of the Republican members voted for the acceptance of the Senate amendments, while of the majority who rejected them, forty-two are Democrats. The Republican vote stands seventy-two for the amendments and fifty-five against them -a proof that the majority of the party are favorable to early and effective reconstruction, and that the Democrats must divide with the more violent radicals the responsibility o

prolonging the exclusion of the Southern States. The speeches of Messrs. Boutwell and Stevens prove incontestably that, they are averse to any measure for the early reorganization of the Southern States. They adhere to the Military bill as it passed the House, which makes no provision for reconstruction, and establishes martial law for an indefinite period. It is as Mr. Stevens describes it-a police bill; but a police bill that overthrows civil authority, and places the liberty, property, and even the lives of the Southern people at the mercy of soldiers. It destroys existing State organizations, without attempting to build others in their place. It makes a Brigadier-General the sole and virtually irresponsible judge of right and law. And all this without limitation as to time. Beyond reëstablishing a military despotism, it does nothing, proposes nothing. And by refusing to concur in its amendment, Messrs. Stevens & Co. confess their aversion to immediate reconstruction in any form. Mr. Stevens, indeed, does not pretend to desire the return of the Southern people on any terms. "I am not very anxious," he said on Monday, "to see their votes cast along with others to control the election of the President and Vice-President of the United States." That's it, exactly. He would rather keep the South out of the Union than reconstruct the Union on the most loyal basis. His eye is fixed upon the next Presidential election, and he will tolerate no measure that is intended or calculated to give the South a voice in the contest. His object is to prevent reconstruction, not to hasten it; and his Military bill does this to a

Mr. Boutwell is not quite so outspoken. He disguises his aversion to Senator Sherman's amendments under the plea that they would restore the Rebels to power. His objection to the amended bill, he declares, "is fundamental. It provides, if not in terms, by the measures it proposes, for the restoration of those (the Southern) Governments at once, through the agency of disloyal men." The same pretense runs through his speech. He will not listen to the Blaine-Sherman amendment, because it is favorable to the Rebels, and will restore the Rebel leaders to power. It is difficult to believe that Mr. Boutwell means what he says. measure embodying all the guarantees of the Constitutional amendment which eighteen loyal States have already ratified as an in Mr. Boutwell's opinion, favorable to "disloyal men!" A measure which adds to the Constitutional amendment the guarantee of universal negro suffrage is, in Mr. Boutwell's judgment, certain to lead to the reorganization of Rebel Governments! The absurdity of the allegations renders their serious refutation unnecessary. They may serve in some quarters to conceal the motives of the extreme, disorganizing policy, but the great majority of the Republican party will see in them a very poor excuse for postponing reconstruction, with an exclusive view to partisan advan-

The truth is that time is necessary for the development of the revolutionary policy. Martial law is only the initial step, preliminary to the unfolding of Mr. Stevens' other propositions. Establish the supremacy of the soldier throughout the South-deprive the citizen of the protection of the habeas corpus-accustom courts and people to the iron heel of military power-and the rest will come in due order. Mr. Stevens has reminded us that he clings to the idea of compensating loyalists for losses by the confiscation of Rebels' property. Confiscation will be an easy process when judges and juries shall have been superseded by brigadiers. Mr. Boutwell protests that there shall be none but military Governments at the South until nearly the entire white population are disfranchised. The military scheme, then, is a means to an end, but an end which Cougress has not yet been asked to sanction. And, meanwhile, if these gentlemen have their way, there will be no attempt at reconstruction. The South must have martial law, and nothing else. The Sherman bill would use the soldier merely as a peace officer, pending the completion of reconstruction, and therefore it must be killed.

This state of affairs had been impossible without Democratic assistance. Tuesday's division has proved that, left to themselves, the Stevens section of the Republican party would be unable to frustrate wiser counsels The Democrats rushed to the rescue, and thus, in effect, made themselves responsible for the non-amendment of Stevens' odious measure. They held the balance of power, and they employed it in favor of Mr. Stevens and against the South. To men capable of rising above the dirt and degradation of party, the oppor tunity would have been a great one. As the question came up, it was a choice between martial law for the South, with confiscation and disfranchisement in the distance, and military government as the prelude to reconstruction. The alternative was, to accept amendments conceived in the interest of peace and humanity, of the South and the Union, or by rejecting these amendments to perpetuate the exclusion of the Southern States, and subject them to the caprice and cruelty of martial law. And these Demo-cratic "friends of the South" cast their lot with its persecutors and most malignant enemies, defeating a compromise which, without their interference, would have triumphed, and exposing the Southern people to penalties and sufferings from which the Sherman bill would have relieved them. This proceeding on the part of the Democrats will hardly excite surprise. But it will be remembered as evidence of their participation in the disunion and destructive policy they pretend to condemn, and of their responsibility for many of the misfortunes that are in store for the South.

According to present appearances, the session Before the expedition got fairly under way two

will terminate without the adoption of any | general measure of reconstruction. The Congress whose duty it was to dispose of the question by the enactment of some comprehensive scheme, will expire, leaving the question not only unsettled, but more complicated and dangerous than ever. The contest that has extended through two sessions will pass to the Fortieth Congress, clogged with the bad blood which its continuance has occasioned, and affording no immediate hope of a reconstructed

The Tariff in Cong ress.

From the Tribune. We do not know that the Tariff bill now pending in Congress will be signed if passed; and we are well aware that the President has power to defeat it by simply holding it to the close of the session. We feel that this should not, need not have been. The friends of protection are strong enough in either House to have passed the bill in ample season to guard against so deplorable a contingency, and ought to have done it. Precious hours have been culpably trifled away that should have been employed to pass this bill weeks ago. If it shall now fail for want of time, the responsibility will be a grave one.

Our adversaries point to certain opponents of this measure who used to rally under the banner of Henry Clay, and claim that protec-tion is a failing cause. We point in answer to the vote by which this bill has passed either House—the strongest ever yet given for any decidedly protective tariff—and claim that we

have gained at least two to their one. The line of argument on either side has searcely varied since 1828 and 1842. The tariffs of those years were denounced as destructive to commerce and revenue, and instigated by manufacturing monopoly and greed. Experience proved our foreign commerce quite as prosperous under those as under nonprotective tariffs, while our revenue from imports was largely, undeniably increased by them. Manufacturing monopoly, so far as it might be said to exist, was diminished, if not abolished, by the great increase and diffusion of iron-making, cloth-making, etc. etc., under those tariffs. And in no other periods of our national history was our labor more generally employed or more fully rewarded than under the operation of those tariffs. Our appeal is from specious theories to unmistakable facts. Repeatedly, in our country's history, has Congress been entreated to adopt or invigorate a protective policy because labor stood unwillingly idle, enterprise was paralyzed, and trade bankrupt. If the prayer was granted, sensible and general relief speedily followed. But no statesman ever had the hardihood to urge an abandonment of the protective policy ecause labor lacked employment and business was stagnant. To have pretended that would have invoked general ridicule. As a general rule, we have abandoned free trade ecause we could stand it no longer, and protection because we were tired of prosperity.

We have twice been cheated out of protec tion-never once fairly voted down. General Jackson, when chosen President, was plausibly claimed as a protectionist. Pennsylvania gave him fifty thousand majority on that ground. And Polk carried her against Clay in 1844 by writing the Kane letter, and being commended on the strength of it as a better protectionist than the great Kentuckian. Francis W. Hughes in that contest held a public debate with William B. Reed expressly to uphold this assumption. Dallas was placed on the ticket with Polk, to assure Pennsylvania that the tariff of '42 would be maintained; yet the Democratic Congress elected with them repealed that tariff by the casting vote of that identical Dallas-Polk, of course, approving

and signing the bill! We hope a time is at hand when this tariff question can be argued to our whole people, and the mean attempts to excite sectional jealousy and hate scouted as they deserve. The States that have the greatest interest in protection are those whose mines are vet unopened, their factories and furnaces yet to be built. Give us adequate protection now, and New England will soon be ready to talk as old England now does; but Alabama and Missouri may need protection for half a century.

The current arguments against a tariff prove it a monstrous wrong that New York should have constructed the Erie Canal, and thus made this city the emporium of the New World, ultimately of the whole world. For that canal was dug by taxing men who did not want any canal-who protested against being saddled with the cost of one. In their view 'Clinton's ditch" was contrived to enrich other men at their expense; and they plausibly insisted that ditching-unless for sanitary pur--was not a function of government. Had they been heeded, New York would have been a second Boston, while Baltimore or Norfolk would have been the metropolis of the Western hemisphere.

Time and again have we asked our Western Republicans who used to be Whigs, "How do you propose to stop the current flow of our national securities to Europe at the rate of two hundred millions per annum? You insist on an inflated, depreciated currency, which stimulates excessive importations; you will not check these by a higher tariff; what will you do?" They retort that a high tariff will not subserve the end-which is exactly like saying that a mill-dam will not obstruct the flow of water. But we had not asked them to criticize our specific, but to set forth their own; so their retort is no answer, but a virtual confession. It is the barrister's brief from his defenseles defendant-"Abuse the plaintiff's attorney."

We have deeply regretted the wranglings touching details among the friends of the tariff. We entreat the friends of protection in Congress to disregard these and pass the bill in some shape before the close of the week. We have quite hostility enough to encounter without warring upon each other. We can endure a vote against us from one who should be for us; but woe to that Representative of a protective constituency who shall fail to respond when called to vote on the tariff bill.

Mr. F. W. Seward's West India Mission-Another Diplomatic Fizzle.

From the Herald. The present Administration is, it must be admitted, rather unfortunate in its foreign missions. If their object does not happen to be Quixotic, the conduct of those intrusted with them not unfrequently renders them so. Thus the Mexican mission-which was a very well-meant thing in its way-assumed quite a comic aspect from the adventures of the distinguished soldier and accomplished diplomat employed to hunt up Juarez. We question if the mishaps of the Spanish knight-errant and

rated. But even still drotter are the incidents that befel the Assistant Secretary of State on his recent "secret" mission to the West Indies.

his faithful Sancho Panza would not be thrown

into the shade by them, if they were fully nar-

or three steamers were disabled in the effort. Every one wondered at this unusual amount of bad luck, and in the absence of any explanation set it down to that favorite source disaster, the unpropitiousness of the weather. It now turns out that it was due to the heaviness of the freight on board, the same consisting of a large amount of Government specie. But the misfortunes arising from it were not destined to end there. When the Gettysburg got to Port Royal, Jamaica, the sailors, who are a superstitious class, discovered the source of their evil fortune, and, in order to dispel it, broke open the specie chest and got rid of as much of the contents as they could handle. Mr. Seward offered the munificent reward of one hundred dollars for the recovery of the money, which, we regret to say, did not turn up in any very large quantities under the influence of such a liberal inducement. Finally, after coaling, the Gettysburg proceeded to her destination, which, contrary all the speculations that had been indulged in, proved to be the island of St. Domingo.

There our two diplomats, Mr. Seward and Admiral Porter, were received in great state by the President, General José Maria Cabral. On opening the negotiations it turned out that instead of their being instructed to purchase a coaling station at the island, as Cabral expected, they came to buy the republic itself. At this information the St. Domingo President put on a long face, and asked them if they really expected him to sell his country. "Certainly," replied Porter, who is a bit of a wag, and you ought to be devilish glad to have a country to sell. On hearing this axiom of political morality Cabral's face brightened, and e came at once to the point. He was willing to make over the island to the United States if they would pay down the hard cash for it. He had the liabilities due to France and Spain to settle, besides some little matters of is own, and he must have the amount before they left. This was a poser to our diplomats. The sum named was considerably in excess of that left them after the depletion of their specie chest by the sailors, and as Cabral was firm, they had to quit the island without effecting their object. The moral of all this is that when our Government sends out foreign missions it should select for them men who are not likely to leave behind them either their wits or their money-bags. These are not usually considered American failings.

The Sherman Bill in Congress on Tuesday. From the World.

The proceedings in Congress on Tuesday are engrossing the attention of the country. The House, by a vote of 73 to 97, rejected the Sherman bill for prolonging disunion till after the next Presidential election, under the guise of reconstruction, and asked a Committee of Conference. The majority which defeated the bill was composed of all the opposition members save one, and fifty-seven radicals who joined them because the bill, bad as it was, was not bad enough to suit their torch-andturpentine purposes. The Senate, on receiving the rejected bill, discussed the question of a Committee of Conference, and finally voted to refuse such a Committee and to insist. On Tuesday evening the bill again came up in the House, and it was the endeavor of Wilson, of Iowa, and other Republicans, by amendments, to make the bill bad enough to suit the most radical taste, whereupon the Democrats proceeded to parliamentary tactics to stave off a vote until, by the operation of the ten-days' rule, the refusal of the President's signature without a veto shall suffice to defeat it. In this they were successful. At half-past II o'clock the House adjourned, Mr. Wilson's motion not having been acted upon.

Some Republican journals are blaming the Democrats in the House for the course which they have wisely adopted and manfully adhered to, of resorting to every parliamentary expedient that can possibly defeat the passage of this bill.

In the first place, it is a sufficient reply, in a partisan sense, to all these imputations to say that the Republicans in Congress have an overwhelming majority-a majority sufficient override the President's veto. Upon them solely rests the responsibility, therefore, for everything that is done and everything that is not done by the Thirty-ninth Congress.

In the next place, in a patriotic sense, it is not possible for any Democrat who loves his country, who desires the present disunion to be ended, or who regards his oath of fidelity to the Constitution, to vote for the Sherman bill. It establishes martial law over the whole South, in the absence of invasion or rebellion to justify the same, and on the assumption and pretense of a rebellion still existing when none exists, and when the Rebellion which did exist has been declared ended by Executive proclamation, in accordance with the act of Congress authorizing such declarations to be made. It prolongs disunion, and, in place of the republican self-government alone known to the Constitution, it establishes a military despotism. It involves the adoption of the radical Constitutional amendment by Southern States which have already refused to adopt it, and, therefore, before those States can be restored to their law-making functions, it prescribes that they shall faithlessly surrender their superior Constitution-amending function, and accept, as the supreme law for a majority of thirty millions of people, the will and passions of a minority of them. It therefore admits to the basis of Congressional representation at the North millions of non-voters. It therefore enacts a representation basis which is neither total population nor voting population, but an artful swindling basis, which cheats the South, where there are negroes, and the East, where the proportion of women to men is larger than at the West, of representatives to the national assembly. It is a bill of abominations, and any Democrat who should vote for it, or who should fail to expend all his strength in the effort to defeat it, would be faithless alike to his principles and his oath.

The Post is one Journal which has under-taken to lecture Democrats for not assisting the radicals to prolong the present disunion till after the next Presidential election, and the Times is another. To both journals we commend the truths uttered by the Times itself last fall, concerning the constitutional amendment, which neither Mr. Raymond nor any other Republican member has, in the present debate, proposed to strike out of the sixth section of the Sherman bill:—

Congress, we take it, must be held responsi-Congress, we take it, must be held responsible for the consequences of its own action. And we must also assume that the radical majority resolved upon their action with a full knowledge of its effect. Whether they avow, honestly, that the South shall not be admitted, or couple an invitation to enter with conditions which they know will not be accepted, matters comparatively little. The result is the same. The South is excluded. And it is excluded deliberately, intentionally, and apparently indefinitely, by the course of the radicals in regard to it.

cals in regard to it.

The wrong is more fisgrant because gratultons. If the exclusion of Southern Representatives proceeded from a rigid interpretation of constitutional provisions, no objection could be fairly raised against it. Not only, however, is it not warranted by the Constitution, but it is directly at variance with the requirements of the Constitution upon the subject. To keep out Southern members, the radicals discard the

Constitution, evade the duty it imposes on them, and insist upon stipulations for which that instrument gives no authority. How absurd, then, is the pica that the failure to restore the Union is attributable to the South, not to the radicals!

The South has for months stood at the door of Congress saking for admission, subject to the

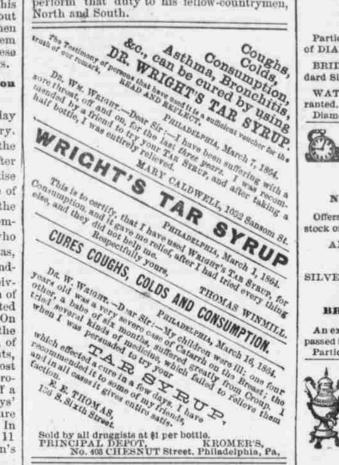
The South has for months stood at the door of Congress asking for admission, subject to the requirements of the existing law and the test of individual fitness. Had Congress opened its deer, subject to these conditions, and these only, its position would have been vindicated. Its readiness to complete the restoration of the Union would have been demonstrated, and no complaint could have been urged because of the exclusion of non-qualified representatives. The onus of justification would have rested upon the constituencies by whom the unfit men had been elected. But Congress surrendered this yeartage-ground when it refused rendered this vantage-ground when it refused to entertain the applications of the South, or to consider the individual eligibility of those who appeared in the name of the South. And when Congress adopted tests framed for the occasion, in defiance of Southern feelings and convictions, it excluded the South as effectually. as really, as though it had in terms decreed ex

And what shall be done when it becomes formally known that the ten excluded States de-cline to accept the extra constitutional condi-tions dictated by Congress? Will Congress re-cede from its position, content itself with the Constitution as it is, and recognize the right of the South to representation? Or will it adhere to its conditions, and so do what it can to render

to its conditions, and so do what it can to render the exclusion permanent.

These are inquiries which merit the attention of the friends of peace and Union. The past is on record; but what of the future? For that the South will not ratify the amendment is certain. Fqually certain is it that a permanent denial of representation to ten States is incompatible with the existence of the Republic? How shall the difficulty be eventually overcome? By adopting the suggestions of Brownlow and Butler, renewing war, devastating the South afresh, and annihilating its white people, as preliminaries to the admission of negro representatives? Or by recognizing, in the end, the right which should be unconditionally recognized now?

This aspect of the question the radicals disingenuously evade. But come it will sooner or later, in a form that will not admit of delay and then how will their policy stand the trial? President Johnson, by simply withholding his signature from the Sherman bill, can now strangle this last radical abortion. His honor, his character, his principles, his pride, and his oath, are the pledges that he will faithfully perform that duty to his fellow-countrymen North and South.



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NO. 324 CHRISTIAN STREET. Constantly on hand, a large and varied assortment Building Lumber. 5 24 TTO CONTRACTORS AND MINERS .- THE

Conmissioners on the Troy and Greenfield Railroad and Hoosac Tunnel, acting for the State of Massachusetts, invite Proposals, until the 10th day of
March next, for Excavating said Tunnel at three
different sections of that work.

This Tunnel, when completed will be about 4%
in the in length, extending from the town of Florida,
through the Hoosac Mountain, to the town of North
Adams. Adams.

The Eastern End has been penetrated from the grade of the Hallroad 350 rieet, 2400 teet of which consist of an opening of about 10 cubic yards to each lineal foot, the same to be enlarged to a section containing about 17 cubic yards to each foot; the remaining 100 feet being heading—now measuring upon an average 4 cubic yards per running foot—to be enlarged to the full section; making some 35,000 cubic yards to be removed. to the full section; making some \$5,000 cubic yards to be removed.

A further section of the work will also be let to the successful bidder for the above-named enlargement, if satisfactory terms shall be offered.

The Western End is worked from a shaft 318 feet deep. The easterly heading from this shaft—of about six cubic yards to each lineal foot—extends 1100 feet, and is to be enlarged to a section containing 17 yards per foot, requiring the removal of 12,500 cable yards. Bids for that amount, and for an extension in either direction of the heading and enlargement at this point, will be received.

The Central End of an elliptical form, 27 to 18 feet, now 400 feet in depth, by to be sunk to grade, 1000 feet from the surface, requiring the removal of about 3000 cubic yards. All the work to be done is in Talcose Slate, and ill require neither masonry nor supports of any kind.

Buildings, machinery, and means of ventilation, all of the most substantial character, have been provided, and will be furnished to contractors.

Ample sureties will be required from parties who may be contracted with, and the Commissioners reserve the right to reject all offers that may be made, serve the right to reject all offers that may be made. Plans and specifications may be seen on application to ALVAH CROCKER, at the Engineer's Office, North Adams, Massachusetts: and other information may be obtained from JAMES M. SHUPE, Room No 10, No. 13 Exchange street, Boston, to whom proposals may be directed.

JAMES M. SHUPE.

JAMES M. SHOPE, ALVAH CROCKER, CHARLES HUDSON Commissione Boston January 20, 1867

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